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The United States Senate

Report of Proceedings

Hearing held before

Committee on Foreign Relations

NOMINATIONS

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Washington, D. C.

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NOMINATION OF KENNETH B. KEATING,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

NOMINATION OF VAL PETERSON,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO FINLAND

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM LEONHART,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO YUGOSLAVIA

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM J. HANDLEY,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY

NOMINATION OF JOSEPH H. BLATCHFORD,
TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

NOMINATION OF ALFRED PUHAN,
TO BE AMBASSADOR TO HUNGARY

- - -

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

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United States Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, D. C.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in
Room 4221, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. William
Fulbright (Chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright (presiding), Church, Symington,
McGee, Aiken, Case and Cooper.

Also present: Mr. Marcy, Miss Hansen, Mr. Tillman and
Mr. Pincus of the Committee Staff.

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The Chairman. The Committee will come to order.

I understand that Senator Hruska and Senator Curtis would

1 The Chairman. Mr. Handley, would you make a very brief
2 statement with regard to your qualifications. You are a career --

3 STATEMENT OF WILLIAM J. HANDLEY,
4 NOMINEE TO BE AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY

5 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

6 The Chairman. Maybe I ought to clear up this career
7 business at least in my own mind. When I use the word "career"
8 I just mean you have been in the service for a long time.

9 Mr. Handley. That is right.

10 The Chairman. The Career Minister is a very special status
11 of those who have served a long time in the service, is that
12 correct.

13 Mr. Handley. That is right, sir, Career Minister as Mr.
14 Leonhart said with a capital C and capital M. Then above that
15 a Career Ambassador.

16 The Chairman. You are not a Career Minister?

17 Mr. Handley. That is right.

18 The Chairman. You are just a foreign service officer?

19 Mr. Handley. That is right.

20 The Chairman. You are not a political appointee brought
21 in, sent from private life just for this?

22 Mr. Handley. I started off, sir, in the Foreign Service
23 Auxiliary as an economic officer, and then in 1945 they were
24 starting a program of labor attaches, and I was personally rather
25 smitten with the idea of learning something about the world.

1 as you see it through the eyes of a labor attache, and the
2 Foreign Service people were willing and so I ended up as the
3 first regional labor attache in the Near East based in Cairo,
4 and then covering all countries in the Arab World as well as
5 Iran and Ethiopia. And then I came back to Washington as a
6 labor advisor in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South
7 Asian Affairs, and then when Ambassador Bowles was going to
8 India, my assignment was to India with USIS, and I spent
9 four years in India with the Foreign Service.

10 Then I came back to Washington in charge, after a few
11 years, of the information program in the Near East and South
12 Asia, and then I was head of the Information Center Service
13 which is the cultural side of the USIA; and then President
14 Kennedy appointed me as Ambassador to Mali. I spent nearly
15 three years there, and then I came back as Deputy Assistant
16 Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia in the State
17 Department, a position I have occupied since September 1964.

18 My particular area in the Near East, South Asia complex has
19 been Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal and Ceylon, the Southern
20 Asian part of the bureau although I have kept up with, kept in
21 touch with what has been going on in the Near East and eastern
22 Mediterranean.

23 The Chairman. Senator Aiken said he wanted something.

24 Senator Aiken. No, I just wanted to ask how your parents
25 happened to be in Guiana when you were born.

1 Mr. Handley. He was from Baltimore and he was looking for
2 mahogany down in Surinam with the possibility of getting some
3 mahogany, and mahogany didn't turn out to be as good as he thought
4 and he and my mother, I am afraid, had to cut it into fire wood
5 and sell it to the Dutch coastal ships, and then he moved to
6 British Guiana, which is now Guyana, he was an engineer, and
7 we spent most of my young life in Guyana. As a matter of fact,
8 this was at the point where I began to take a real interest in
9 the South Asian area because half the population of Guyana, as
10 you know, Senator, came from the sub-continent. So when I went
11 back to India, or went to India in 1952, I felt as if I was
12 in very familiar territory.

13 Senator Aiken. India is greater Guiana, for instance.

14 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

15 Senator Aiken. I say India is greater Guiana.

16 Mr. Handley. That is right.

17 Senator Aiken. But you don't find too many Indians in
18 Georgetown, do you?

19 Mr. Handley. Oh, yes, oh, yes. Of course the indigenous
20 population of Guyana, the Amerindians, you find them back in Rup-
21 ununi, in the back part of Guyana, but most people who live in
22 Guyana, really lived there, most came from the --

23 Senator Aiken. C-A-N-E, you mean, not C-A-I-N.

24 Mr. Handley. That is right.

25 Senator Aiken. That is all now.

1 The Chairman. I know that you were manager of an import
2 company in British Guyana.

3 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir, that was my father's business.

4 The Chairman. How did you get from that into the labor
5 field. What was your background as a labor attache.

6 Mr. Handley. As a labor attache I was interested in
7 following the labor legislation in the Middle East, reporting
8 back to Washington the trade union developments in the Middle
9 East.

10 The Chairman. Is there a strong trade union development in
11 the UAR?

12 Mr. Handley. Actually in 1945 there was a trade union
13 development there but it wasn't -- they had lots of legislation
14 on the books but the unions themselves were not particularly
15 strong, although there were some that were members of the
16 International Trade Secretariat that were stronger than the
17 General Confederation.

18 The strong trade union movement in the Middle East in
19 that period, the strongest trade union, of course, was the
20 Histadruth in Israel, in Palestine during that period, and in
21 Iran there was considerable development of trade unionism,
22 some of it sponsored by the Tudeh Party of Iran.

23 During that period also I was an observer at the
24 first ILO meeting of the governments of the Near East in Istanbul,
25 and I had an opportunity, although Turkey was not really my

1 particular area at that time, of seeing how the trade unions
2 in Turkey were developing.

3 Going back to Turkish legislation, they concentrated on local
4 trade unions rather than confederations and it was not until
5 many, many years later that a confederation was really developed
6 which is quite unlike the pattern in other parts of the Near
7 East where the confederation was developed first and then they
8 later thought about locals within the various parts.

9 The Chairman. Have you been in Turkey at all, served there?

10 Mr. Handley. Never served there, sir, but I have been
11 there many times.

12 The Chairman. Are you aware of the fact our Ambassador's
13 car was turned over and burned, I believe, not long ago?

14 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

15 The Chairman. Our relations with Turkey, would you say,
16 are the very best at this time?

17 Mr. Handley. Well, I think, sir, that the Government of
18 Turkey certainly has good relations with us. I have been told
19 that this is a small group in Turkey who feels this way but I
20 would rather wait and see. I suspect that as the years have
21 gone by that there are a number of factors involved in terms of
22 relations between two countries, and that some problems may have
23 arisen.

24 The Chairman. I have a number of questions that particularly
25 relate to Turkey, I think, that if you would care to respond to

1 them rather briefly, I don't want to drag this out too long, but
2 I want to make a record.

3 As Ambassador will you be the head of the so-called country
4 team in Turkey?

5 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

6 The Chairman. What does that mean, as briefly as you can,
7 what does being the head of the country team mean?

8 Mr. Handley. Well, the country team is made up of the head
9 of the various agencies operating in any country, Turkey, would
10 be the head of the USIA, would be the head of AID, the head of
11 the military supply and training team, the military attaches,
12 the agricultural, the political, the economic, and the ambassador
13 is head of the country team and is the man who is supposed to
14 know what is going on, and who is supposed to run the affairs
15 of the US Government in that country.

16 The Chairman. Does that include the CIA and the Peace Corps?

17 Mr. Handley. That does, yes, sir.

18 The Chairman. And MAAG?

19 Mr. Handley. That is right, and MAAG. All of them.

20 The Chairman. All of them. What about the CENTO aid
21 staff which is listed in the foreign aid list.

22 Mr. Handley. Well, the Ambassador to Turkey is the Deputy
23 to CENTO so he works with CENTO and, therefore, with the
24 staff that is there.

25 The Foreign Minister, the Secretary of State, and the

1 Foreign Minister of the other countries are the permanent members
2 to CENTO. Turkey being the headquarters of CENTO now the recent
3 Ambassadors are the deputy permanent representatives.

4 The Chairman. Do you think CENTO serves any useful purpose?

5 Mr. Handley. I think that the countries of Turkey and
6 Iran particularly believe that it has, sir, and I think that
7 through the years --

8 The Chairman. I didn't say had, I say does it now?

9 Mr. Handley. I think it does, sir, yes.

10 The Chairman. How many employees, government employees,
11 are in each of these groups which have just been mentioned in
12 Turkey, do you know?

13 Mr. Handley. Not off hand.

14 The Chairman. Can you supply it for the record?

15 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir, I would.

16 The Chairman. Would you supply it precisely each one of
17 these USIA, CIA, AID, trade, MAAG, Peace Corps or any others
18 that we have, because I think this may be very significant with
19 regard to this trouble we are having in Turkey and also in other
20 countries, and I would like to have not only all Americans but
21 local employees. Will you supply that for the record?

22 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

23 (The document referred to follows:)

24 COMMITTEE INSERT

1 Senator Aiken. Mr. Chairman, I might add he might have
2 difficulty in getting the number of CIA.

3 The Chairman. I don't care about difficulty. Will you
4 make a bona fide effort, and if you can't get it put in the
5 record that you can't get it and they will not do it. Will you
6 make a full report?

7 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

8 The Chairman. Are all the official business groups cleared
9 through you or designated officers of the Department of State,
10 the official business of these groups which I have mentioned,
11 you have mentioned.

12 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

13 The Chairman. You are sure about that?

14 Mr. Handley. All of these people, yes, sir.

15 The Chairman. The official people of these various agencies
16 which we have mentioned.

17 The Chairman. That is as far as I know, sir. Having been
18 an Ambassador before in Mali that is the way it operated there.

19 The Chairman. Mali is a little different case.

20 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

21 The Chairman. For example, would one of the Foreign Service
22 officials see or clear all messages from the military attaches
23 of which there are seven in Turkey or from the military group,
24 would you see all official messages to know what is going on?

25 Mr. Handley. That I could not answer.

1 The Chairman. Will you supply the answer positively for
2 the record?

3 Mr. Handley. Yes, right, sir.

4 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. What is the highest ranking U. S. Military
2 Officer stationed in Turkey?

3 Mr. Handley. A Lieutenant General, sir.

4 The Chairman. Does he report to the Ambassador?

5 Mr. Handley. I am not positive.

6 The Chairman. You are not sure.

7 Mr. Handley. I am not positive.

8 The Chairman. Will you find out and put it in the record?

9 Mr. Handley. Yes.

10 The Chairman. Because I asked a similar question of our
11 ambassador, former ambassador to Japan, and if I recall correctly,
12 this is always very equivocal, I am not sure they do and I think
13 they ought to. If this system of being the country team, you
14 being the head of the country team means anything, the most
15 important of all is to have the military officers coordinated
16 wand report to the ambassador, I think.

17 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 Senator Church. Mr. Chairman, may I ask at that point
2 what do you mean by report.

3 The Chairman. Tell him what is going on.

4 Senator Church. You mean subject to the general direction
5 and control of the ambassador or simply inform the ambassador
6 what the military are doing or the CIA are doing.

7 The Chairman. At the minimum inform the ambassador in
8 advance what they propose to do and what they are doing. Whether
9 or not the ambassador has a veto or not is another matter. I
10 suppose the ultimate decision will be the President's, if there
11 happens to be any conflict. But that at least the ambassador
12 is informed and all messages cleared through his office
13 so that he knows exactly what is going on, and this is especially
14 important in military affairs, in my opinion. And I thought that
15 was involved in the concept of the head of the country team.

16 Mr. Handley. Head of the country team, yes, sir.

17 The Chairman. I wish you would make this very precise
18 for the record so that we have something to further inquire
19 of representatives of the State Department and the military.

20 This is part of my concern about the military establishing
21 its independence of the civilian part of our government, and it
22 is just one aspect of it and Turkey, I think, is a good case
23 study, if I may say so, much better than Mali for various and
24 obvious reasons.

25 How many American military officers and men are now

1 stationed in Turkey?

2 Mr. Handley. Just picking a figure, I know the total
3 figure including dependents is around 20,000, sir.

4 The Chairman. That is quite a lot, isn't it. How many
5 of those are in uniform and how many dependents?

6 Mr. Handley. Well, I would guess, maybe 15,000 but this
7 is just a guess.

8 The Chairman. But you can find out?

9 Mr. Handley. Yes, I will.

10 The Chairman. I thought you would know as a career man
11 and getting ready to go to Turkey you should have known, you
12 find that out and supply it for the record very quickly.

13 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

14 The Chairman. Maybe before you are confirmed.

15 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. In addition, are there representatives of
2 military contractors or civilian-military training groups in
3 Turkey?

4 Mr. Handley. There are, yes, there would be.

5 The Chairman. There will be military contractors, won't
6 there.

7 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

8 The Chairman. And military, civilian-military training
9 groups in Turkey, is that right?

10 Mr. Handley. I would believe so, yes, sir.

11 The Chairman. Are they under your control as chief of
12 the country team?

13 Mr. Handley. Well, there is a principle that went back to
14 the instruction that Mr. Kennedy, President Kennedy, gave to
15 all chiefs of mission and he said that all of the elements that
16 I mentioned were under the direction of the Ambassador.

17 The Chairman. That is right.

18 Mr. Handley. There was one exception, and that, as I recall,
19 that was command unit reporting to an American military theater
20 commander overseas. In other words, it would include the
21 military training groups, it would include the military training
22 attaches, but let's say there is an American field position
23 overseas with a direct command position there. That general,
24 that officer, was not really reporting directly to the Ambassador,
25 but to his superiors. That was the one exception.

1 The Chairman. Now in your supplying information make this
2 very precise, if this is the case, that there is someone, if there
3 is, who does not report to you. There are some big bases there,
4 important ones. What we are trying to do is find out the
5 situation and it is not easy to do and so we are taking this
6 opportunity because it is Turkey and because it is a very
7 sensitive area and also because of the recent troubles we have
8 had there, and I think it is very timely that you supply this.
9 And you will do that.

10 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

11 The Chairman. And also this question of whether these
12 contractors, in other words, for the military, are under your
13 control or what control you have of them, what is your relation
14 with them.

15 How much money will you have for representational purposes
16 as Ambassador to Turkey.

17 Mr. Handley. I think the figure for Turkey is \$12,000 for
18 the whole country, and then the Ambassador keeps some of that
19 and distributes the rest to other people.

20 The Chairman. Will you break this down as between you and
21 the USIA?

22 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

23 The Chairman. And the other agencies.

24 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

25 (The document referred to follows:)

 COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Do you know how much the military officials
2 have for representation? Isn't that apart from the \$12,000?

3 Mr. Handley. That is apart, yes.

4 The Chairman. What?

5 Mr. Handley. That is apart.

6 The Chairman. A part?

7 Mr. Handley. One word.

8 The Chairman. Outside, in addition, is that right?

9 Mr. Handley. That is right.

10 The Chairman. Would you supply that. You can find out,
11 can't you?

12 Mr. Handley. I will do my best, yes, sir.

13 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. We want to get what the situation is in these
2 countries. I suspect myself that the proliferation of all these
3 agencies with each one having his own fish to fry, his own
4 programs, has contributed to just what happened about the last
5 Ambassador. I hope you don't have your car burned up from under
6 you. I recommend you use a Ford for a while instead of a
7 Cadillac until the calm down in Istanbul.

8 Do you know whether we have an exchange program with
9 Turkey.

10 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir, we do.

11 The Chairman. Do you know how large it is?

12 Mr. Handley. No, I don't have the exact figure at the
13 moment, sir.

14 The Chairman. Not very large, is it.

15 Mr. Handley. Not very large. On the AID side, of course,
16 there have been a number of participant trainees coming to
17 the states but on the cultural exchange side it could be larger.

18 The Chairman. It is not large.

19 Mr. Handley. I think it is a fundamental aspect of our
20 relations and certainly every place I have served I have
21 thought it absolutely a great thing.

22 The Chairman. Well, it is good to hear you say that. It
23 is too bad there are not more people who appreciate it.

24 How many Turkish civilians came to the United States last
25 year at the expense of the U. S. Government, do you know?

1 Mr. Handley. No, sir, not off hand.

2 The Chairman. Can you find that out.

3 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

4 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. Does the U. S. bring any Turkish military
2 officers or men to the U. S. for training.

3 Mr. Handley. I imagine so, sir, that is part of the
4 program.

5 The Chairman. Yes. How many, do you know?

6 Mr. Handley. I don't know.

7 The Chairman. Will you find that out. It will be more
8 than the civilians, I predict.

9 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. How many consulates does the U. S. have
2 in Turkey?

3 Mr. Handley. Istanbul, Adana, and Izmir.

4 The Chairman. Three.

5 Mr. Handley. Yes.

6 The Chairman. How many military bases in Turkey?

7 Mr. Handley. I don't know the answer, the term of,
8 the word "base," what that involves.

9 The Chairman. Military installations with appreciable
10 staff.

11 Mr. Handley. I am just getting briefed on Turkey now,
12 sir, so I really am afraid on this particular one I don't
13 have the answer.

14 The Chairman. I think you should have been briefed before
15 this hearing. We are interested in Turkey. I could say about
16 Turkey to a great extent some of the things I said about
17 Yugoslavia. This is a very important country to us, is it
18 not?

19 Mr. Handley. Yes, it is.

20 The Chairman. And there it is right next to Russia. Will
21 you put that in the record. This isn't classified, is it.

22 Mr. Handley. I don't think so, sir. I don't know.

23 The Chairman. It surely can't be classified can it?

24 Mr. Handley. I don't know all of the bases and all of the
25 communication centers and the rest of it.

1 The Chairman. Will you supply it for the record. You are
2 as good as any now that you are going to be Ambassador, and give
3 us how many of the military bases in Turkey and by bases, it may
4 be a word of art, I don't know bases, but military installations
5 any appreciable size. I don't mean one individual agent living
6 out on a mountain top observing the Russians or something,
7 but anything that you would consider an installation.

8 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

9 (The document referred to follows:)

10 COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Do we have a base agreement with Turkey
2 or are we there as a part of NATO?

3 Mr. Handley. We are there as a part of NATO and we have,
4 under the NATO agreement we have, bilateral agreements which
5 we have been negotiating with the Turks, renegotiating with
6 the Turks.

7 The Chairman. Do we have any separate military type
8 agreement with Turkey that are not entirely related to NATO?

9 Mr. Handley. No, they are entirely related.

10 The Chairman. All related to NATO?

11 Mr. Handley. So far as I know, yes, sir.

12 The Chairman. Do we have a Status of Forces convention
13 with Turkey?

14 Mr. Handley. I am not sure, sir.

15 The Chairman. Would you look that up and put it in the
16 record.

17 Mr. Handley. Yes.

18 The Chairman. And if we do is it identical with other
19 NATO countries. And if we do was it submitted to the Senate
20 for its advice and consent. I think the answer is, no, but
21 anyway I want you to put it down and I want it officially from
22 you, will you get it?

23 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

24 (The document referred to follows:)

25 COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Now, if you would like just an easy one,
2 again what is your explanation of the anti-American riots in
3 Turkey? Is this just because of a few disaffected students like
4 we have at Harvard and Columbia and Berkeley and most of the
5 other institutions in this country or is there some serious --

6 Mr. Handley. I think there is some of the first part
7 but I think that there may be a feeling of Turkish nationalism
8 asserting itself, a feeling of after 20 years of American
9 presence there that perhaps it is beginning to chafe a little
10 bit here and there.

11 Senator Church. Do you think that feeling might be
12 exacerbated by the presence of 20,000 Americans?

13 Mr. Handley. Well, I have no doubt that it would be or
14 could be.

15 Senator Church. And as Ambassador is it your intention to
16 review very carefully the necessity of maintaining so large an
17 American colony in Turkey?

18 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir. The American presence in Turkey
19 will certainly be foremost in my mind.

20 Senator Church. I think you might not only discover based
21 upon some of the experiences elsewhere, I recall in Korea, for
22 example, that the efficiency of the aid program markedly improved
23 when the staff was reduced by 50 percent. This was the general
24 conclusion that was reached by the people in Korea so that you
25 may not only help to solve the increasing anti-American

1 feeling by reducing the large American colony there but you may
2 improve the efficiency with which our various programs are
3 administered there.

4 Mr. Handley. That is entirely possible, sir.

5 The Chairman. Well, I will turn you over, I will just
6 comment by saying that I think the Turks, the Turkish people,
7 by and large, have done a remarkably good job since World War II
8 in holding their country together and in making, I think,
9 considerable progress, and I regret very much that our relations
10 with Turkey are not better than they are. They used to be
11 most friendly, one of the friendliest countries, I mean, and
12 generally satisfactory in that area, a source of great regret
13 that recent incidents indicate a falling away from our country.

14 Well, have you got anything further, Senator.

15 Senator Church. I just wanted to ask one question, Mr.
16 Chairman, with the CIA. Do you understand it to be within your
17 authority as Ambassador not only to be informed about the
18 activities of the CIA, if there are any occurring in Turkey,
19 but to pass judgment on them, that is to say will you have any
20 power to determine what these activities will be within Turkey?

21 Mr. Handley. The answer is very definitely yes, sir.

22 Senator Church. Do you have a veto power?

23 Mr. Handley. That is my understanding. Certainly I would
24 be very surprised if I didn't.

25 Senator Church. You don't speak from experience?

1 Mr. Handley. Well, I speak from experience. Not being
2 Ambassador in Turkey but being elsewhere and seeing other
3 operations and knowing what the Ambassador can and should do,
4 what his authorities are.

5 Senator Church. Did you have that kind of experience in
6 your last ambassadorial post?

7 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

8 Senator Church. And that was Mali?

9 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

10 The Chairman. You do have a CIA installation in Mali?

11 Mr. Handley. Not an installation.

12 The Chairman. What do you have? What is it?

13 Mr. Handley. Well, there is obvious interest -- this is
14 a very difficult one for me, sir, to go into any details in an
15 open hearing.

16 The Chairman. Mali is a rather isolated community, isn't
17 it.

18 Senator Church. I wouldn't press you further for details.
19 I understand the sensitivity of the subject matter but it
20 does indicate the extent to which we have permeated every
21 country everywhere, even the smallest countries in the most
22 remote parts of the world. If there isn't an American Empire,
23 I just don't know how else to define it.

24 The Chairman. How large is Mali?

25 Mr. Handley. It is a country of about four million people,

1 about 500,000 square miles.

2 The Chairman. 500,000 square miles?

3 Mr. Handley. A little less than a third of the size of
4 India actually. As the Senator know --

5 The Chairman. And a highly industrialized and important
6 country?

7 Mr. Handley. It wasn't industrialized but it certainly was
8 a country that was very much taken up by the Soviet Union,
9 by Communist China, North Vietnam, North Korea. All had
10 diplomatic representation in Mali when I was there.

11 The Chairman. They are there for what purpose?

12 Mr. Handley. Well, this was during the period of consider-
13 able Communist interest in that part of Africa.

14 The Chairman. What is the principal product of Mali,
15 peanuts?

16 Mr. Handley. Beef and peanuts.

17 The Chairman. Peanuts.

18 Mr. Handley. And surprisingly enough, fish.

19 The Chairman. They call them ground nuts, don't they?

20 Mr. Handley. Ground nuts.

21 The Chairman. What kind of fish?

22 Mr. Handley. Fish, it is a variety of the perch family
23 called Capitaine, and strangely enough its enormous shipment
24 of fish goes back from the Niger back to the coast. They smoke
25 it and dry it and they ship it back to the interior, it is teeming

1 with fish.

2 The Chairman. And that is a great strategic matter.

3 Mr. Handley. Not strategic.

4 The Chairman. And very important as to whether the Commun-
5 ists or we control it. Well what is the reason why Mali --
6 it seems a little silly to me, these are mostly primitive,
7 nomadic people. Why?

8 Mr. Handley. Why the great interest of the Communist people?

9 The Chairman. Yes, and why the great interest of us?

10 Mr. Handley. Well, the great interest to the Communists
11 was that the government of Mali, as the government of several
12 other countries in Africa, had decided to pursue a, militantly
13 a, socialistic view or program, policy and was attracted to
14 the Communist countries of Eastern Europe and also, of course,
15 by the Chinese and through the Chinese and to the Vietnamese
16 and the North Koreans. It didn't cause me to panic. I could
17 understand why in a process of decolonization they would want
18 to have relationship with many countries in the world, but
19 there is no question but that virtually all of the Communist
20 countries were represented.

21 The Chairman. What is wrong with that. Aren't they
22 entitled to representation like anybody else?

23 Mr. Handley. Nothing wrong with it at all, sir. I am just
24 saying this was the quality of life during this particular
25 period.

1 Senator Church. Well, shouldn't the decision as to what
2 kind of system the Mali people have been left to the Mali
3 people?

4 Mr. Handley. Their decision entirely, I couldn't agree
5 more, Senator, and that is what I thought.

6 The Chairman. What was the function or mission of the
7 CIA. You don't wish to discuss it?

8 Mr. Handley. I prefer not to.

9 The Chairman. Did they have elections in Mali?

10 Mr. Handley. No, they have one party elections, yes, sir.

11 The Chairman. This business, I think I will put it in
12 the record simply for the information of the Committee later,
13 an article about Mr. Komer's, this is 12-4-68, the campaign
14 against Mr. Komer. It seems to have been oriented toward his
15 experience in Vietnam to a considerable extent, is that correct,
16 and he also had served in the CIA, according to this article.

17 It says: "Komer is branded here as a CIA agent and a
18 'torturer' in Vietnam. Actually, he worked in Washington as a
19 foreign affairs analyst for the cia for 12 years and his last
20 post was head of the pacification program in Vietnam." And so
21 on. I won't read it all.

22 (The article referred to follows:)

1 The Chairman. The purpose of this is simply to make you
2 aware that the Committee is also aware of these activities of these
3 various agencies in countries which would appear now to be
4 prejudicial to our interests, and I think as our Ambassador
5 you should, we should be taking these things very seriously.
6 I think countries resent the evident intervening in their internal
7 affairs by such an overwhelming presence of so many different
8 agencies with unlimited, almost unlimited, funds to dispense,
9 and I would hope that you would be aware of that.

10 Now, in Turkey, Turkey we have a number of agencies, the
11 Peace Corps has 236 as of December 31, 1968. It gave them
12 economic aid of \$152 million in fiscal '67, mostly loans
13 but military aid of \$118 million all grants. That is one of
14 the major recipients of aid, isn't it.

15 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

16 The Chairman. And yet they burn our Ambassador's car.
17 There is surely something which seems to be awry, don't you
18 think?

19 Mr. Handley. Well, certainly, I would say again, this
20 may in fact be a small group that would pick a dramatic incident
21 to try to color for whatever reason it wants to color, the image
22 of U. S.-Turkish relations.

23 At the same time I would be rather foolish to think that
24 that is the beginning and end of it. I think one has to examine
25 very carefully what are the fundamental -- what is the fundamental

1 quality of U. S.-Turkish relations in 1969-1970 and what can
2 be done truly to understand and improve them and that will
3 certainly be, if I am confirmed that will be, my policy.

4 The Chairman. This is a new development. We have had, I
5 thought, unusually cordial relations with Turkey up until
6 recently. I was amazed when I read that they had burned our
7 car, I mean, and attacked us. It wasn't just a handful. It ws
8 was over 700 according to that article engaged in that protest
9 meeting.

10 Senator Church. In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, the
11 reports in the press indicate that there is much evident anti-
12 American feeling in the local newspapers of Turkey and that
13 this feeling is quite widespread and ought not to be interpreted
14 as the exotic act of a very small and misled group of fanatics.

15 Senator Aiken. I might add, if you don't mind, you get
16 that same feeling in Washington, Detroit and New York and other
17 places, a bit nearer home than Ankara.

18 The Chairman. Well, it is understandable here in Washington
19 and New York but I don't understand it in Turkey.

20 Senator Aiken. We expect these folks to be better behaved.

21 The Chairman. Well, it used to be.

22 Do you know, Mr. Handley, how much rent we pay for our
23 bases in Turkey.

24 Mr. Handley. No, sir, I don't.

25 The Chairman. Can you find out. I would like to know whether

1 or not we pay rent in our Turkish bases comparable to those in
2 Spain, and you know about the Spanish current negotiations?

3 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

4 The Chairman. And I would like to know just what we
5 are paying for rent in Turkey, and also I would like to
6 know whether these bases are joint, in other words do we both
7 use them or whether they are there for our exclusive use and
8 whether there are any restrictions upon our use.

9 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. Do you know whether or not in Turkey we put
2 out instructions to all Americans telling them what not to talk
3 about and what not to mention when you go to Turkey?

4 Mr. Handley. The public relations guidance in terms of
5 the military, how they behave and the respect for Turkish
6 institutions, yes, sir. That has been a long-standing program.

7 The Chairman. Would you supply for the Committee a copy
8 of these instructions to Americans when they go to Turkey of
9 what not to talk about. Do you know whether we are allowed to
10 play the national anthem in Turkey. Our people, when you
11 are received or you have a celebration in Turkey, is it against
12 our policy to allow the national anthem to be played there?

13 Mr. Handley. I can't imagine so.

14 The Chairman. Well, it is in Spain. I just wondered why
15 it isn't in Turkey. Will you find this out.

16 Mr. Handley. Yes.

17 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. Are you familiar with this memorandum
2 that has developed about Spain about what we cannot say and
3 what we cannot do in Spain. Are you familiar with it?

4 Mr. Handley. No, sir, I am not.

5 The Chairman. I will ask the staff to supply you with a
6 copy. I think it is very instructive, and I would like a
7 comparable one, if there is one, on Turkey.

8 This will help our other activity in the Subcommittee of
9 this Committee, because it will save us a little trouble. If we
10 would have the same thing in Turkey.

11 The reason why it is significant in Turkey, I mean these
12 installations are justified on somewhat the same basis as
13 Spain, although Turkey is much more vulnerable in a way, I
14 mean much closer to the Soviet Union and there is more
15 justification for, I would think, for bases in Turkey than
16 there are in Spain, but in any case I'm trying to get a picture,
17 and the Committee is, of just what our involvements are.

18 We believe, we tentatively believe, that this excessive
19 presence of the United States in such countries as Turkey
20 which is after all a relatively underdeveloped and poor
21 country, is that it might be at the bottom of the resentment
22 against America, that is what we are really interested in. We
23 would like to have all the information we can.

24 Any questions.

25 Senator Case, do you have any questions?

1 Senator Case. I just wonder if you might not want to put
2 the instruction, if it is proper, in the record, the one in
3 Spain.

4 The Chairman. Mr. Pincus, can you get a copy or make a
5 Xerox. It is not classified. They usually classify all unpleas-
6 ant documents, but get a copy and put it in the record here.

7 (The document referred to follows:)

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1 The Chairman. I think this is a matter that I didn't
2 know about and the public doesn't know about and we ought to
3 know about what happens when we get so involved in these bases
4 and other agreements in these various countries.

5 Senator Church has a question.

6 Senator Church. What is the present state of political
7 health of Modibo Keita?

8 Mr. Handley. As I understand it he is still under house
9 arrest. There was a coup a number of months ago and, as far as
10 I know, politically he is out of power, of course. Of course,
11 some of the people who were in the government are still in the
12 government. Jean-Marie Kone is going to be here this week
13 actually, I have met him. He is in the government. Louis
14 Negre, is Minister of Finance, some of the people are still
15 there. Modibo is out.

16 Senator Church. In connection with the request that the
17 Chairman made that you supply information concerning the rental
18 we pay the Turkish Government for bases, if any, would you also
19 supply the termination date of the arrangement that we presently
20 have with Turkey, because it is evident that the rent is going
21 up for these bases. It is proposed that we increase the rent
22 to Spain by 75 percent. We are now informed that Portugal wants
23 to reopen negotiations concerning a new determination of the
24 rent for the base we have in the Azores, and this looks to be
25 a part of a pattern of hiking the price that we have to pay to

1 defend these countries. And I would like to know what that situ-
2 ation may be in Turkey.

3 Senator Aiken. When does that bilateral military agreement
4 expire, may I ask, Mr. Chairman?

5 Mr. Handley. I think in the next few months. It is
6 being --

7 Senator Aiken. This year.

8 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

9 The Chairman. Is that all.

10 Senator Church. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

11 The Chairman. I hope if you need this, the staff will give
12 you a copy of this tomorrow, will give you what we asked for
13 because I can see you had some difficulty in getting it all
14 down, and I want to say this is simply taking advantage of this
15 opportunity to inquire about a country which, in many cases, is
16 similar to the one that we are particularly interested in at the
17 moment, Spain, and actually the most disturbing element was what
18 happened to our Ambassador there and the evidence that our
19 relations have deteriorated very seriously, could be very
20 seriously. I don't know how seriously but we are interested in
21 it. Do you have anything else further to say?

22 Mr. Handley. No, sir.

23 The Chairman. Will you get it very, very soon?

24 Mr. Macomber was there behind you a moment ago. We want it
25 soon, I mean within the next few days. Can we get that?

1 Mr. Handley. Yes, sir.

2 The Chairman. In fact, I think it ought to be supplied
3 before we have to vote on your confirmation. Thank you very
4 much, Mr. Handley.

5 The next witness is Joseph H. Blatchford, of California
6 to be Director of the Peace Corps.

7 (The biographical statement of Mr. Blatchford follows:)
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